

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 091157

43

ORIGIN EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 USIE-00 SS-15 NSC-10 L-03 SSO-00 NSCE-00

SAJ-01 CU-04 SCI-06 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01

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5/11/73 EXT 22170

APPROVED BY AMO ASSADOR PORTEF

EUR - MR STOESSEL

EUR - MR ARMITAGE

EUR/ SOV - MR MATLOCK

USIA/ IEE - MR TUOHEY

S/ S - MR. BARNES

NSC - MR. SONNENFELDT

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O 121820 Z MAY 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 091157

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OEXC, UR

SUBJ: EXCHANGES: AUGMENTED AGREEMENT

REF: MOSCOW 5174; STATE 86600

1. CLEARANCE OF OUR DRAFT OF AUGMENTED EXCHANGES AGREEMENT IS ALMOST COMPLETED AND WE WILL TRANSMIT FULL TEXT TO EMBASSY BY CABLE ASAP. MEANWHILE, HOWEVER, IT ENTIRELY CLEAR THAT THERE IS BASIC DIFFERENCE IN APPROACH BETWEEN SALIENT POINTS OUR DRAFT AND SOVIET DRAFT OF FIVE- YEAR AGREEMENT PROVIDED MR. KISSINGER. SOVIET DRAFT REFLECTS SOVIET EFFORT TO CONVERT OUR COMPREHENSIVE EXCHANGES AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR SPECIFIC EXCHANGES

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 091157

IN A NUMBER OF AREAS TO A SERIES OF GENERAL ASSERTIONS OF WILLINGNESS TO CONDUCT EXCHANGES AND COOPERATIVE ACTIVITIES. ARTICLE IN SOVIET DRAFT ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE BROAD GENERALIZATIONS MERELY PROVIDES THAT "PARTIES AGREE TO HOLD, AS A RULE, ONCE IN TWO YEARS, A MEETING OF THEIR REPRESENTATIVES ... TO DISCUSS THE GENERAL IMPLEMENTATION OF CONTACTS, EXCHANGES AND CO-OPERATION IN VARIOUS FIELDS AND TO GIVE CONSIDERATION TO CONCRETE PROGRAMS OF EXCHANGES WHICH ARE NOT COVERED BY (OTHER) SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS."

2. AS EMBASSY WILL RECOGNIZE, UNLESS THIS APPROACH

IS SIGNIFICANTLY MODIFIED, IT WOULD, IN PRACTICE, MAKE IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE, TO MAINTAIN AN ACCEPTABLE BALANCE OF ADVANTAGE BETWEEN EXCHANGES IN THOSE CATEGORIES OF HIGH INTEREST TO US (E. G., EXHIBITS, PERFORMING ARTS GROUPS, PUBLICATIONS AND EDUCATION) AS OPPOSED TO THOSE OF PRIMARY INTEREST TO SOVIETS. AT VERY LEAST, IT WOULD FACILITATE SOVIET OPPORTUNITIES TO ENGAGE IN UNILATERAL ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE US WITHOUT ENSURING RECIPROCAL ACTIVITIES FOR US IN THE USSR. IN BRIEF, ADOPTION SOVIET APPROACH WOULD ENTAIL MAJOR RISK OF LOSING ELEMENTS OF EXCHANGE RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAVE TAKEN YEARS TO DEVELOP, AND IT IS THEREFORE UNACCEPTABLE TO US.

3. RE PARAGRAPH 1(B) OF REFTEL, OUR DRAFT CONSISTS OF TWELVE ARTICLES AND FOLLOWS GENERAL FORMAT OF CURRENT (1972-73) AGREEMENT. MAJOR MODIFICATIONS AND INNOVATIONS, APART FROM THREE- YEAR DURATION (REFTEL), INCLUDE:

A. NEW PREAMBLE CALLING FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT AND EXPANSION OF EXCHANGES AND COOPERATION;

B. ADDITION OF 1972 SUMMIT AGREEMENTS ON COOPERATION IN ENVIRONMENT, SPACE, HEALTH, AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TO AGREEMENTS LISTED IN SECTION II, PARA. 1 OF PRESENT AGREEMENT;

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 091157

C. AMALGAMATION OF PRESENT SECTIONS III, IV AND V INTO NEW ARTICLE COVERING EXCHANGES IN SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AGRICULTURE AND MEDICINE. NEW ARTICLE LISTS BROAD SUBJECT AREAS FOR EXCHANGES OF DELEGATIONS AND SPECIALISTS IN THIS AREA BUT ELIMINATES SPECIFIC TOPICS FOR INDIVIDUAL DELEGATIONS AS CONTAINED IN PRESENT SECTION III, PARA. 6 AND SECTION IV, PARA. 2;

D. ARTICLE ON EDUCATION CALLS FOR GENERAL EXPANSION OF CONTACTS AND EXCHANGES IN THIS FIELD AND SPECIFICALLY PROVIDES FOR: INCREASES IN ANNUAL EXCHANGES OF GRADUATE STUDENTS, (PARA. 1. A. OF PRESENT SECTION VI), SUMMER-LANGUAGE TEACHERS (PARA. 1. B.), LECTURERS (PARA. 1. D.) AND SPECIALISTS (PARA. 1. E.); INCREASE IN NUMBER OF SEMINARS AND DELEGATIONS; INCLUSION OF NEW PARAGRAPHS PROVIDING FOR EXCHANGE OF ART STUDENTS, AND VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION SPECIALISTS. WE HAVE DROPPED SENIOR SCHOLAR EXCHANGE (PARA. 1. C.) IN WHICH SOVIETS HAVE DISPLAYED LITTLE INTEREST AND HAVE BEEN UNWILLING TO IMPLEMENT SATISFACTORILY.

E. INCREASE IN NUMBER OF PERFORMING ARTS GROUPS TO BE EXCHANGED DURING THE THREE- YEAR PERIOD; SUPPLEMENTED BY PARAGRAPH ENCOURAGING ADDITIONAL MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE TOURS IN THIS FIELD;

F. INCREASE IN VOLUME OF DISTRIBUTION OF " AMERIKA " AND " SOVIET LIFE ";

G. INCLUSION OF NEW PROVISION FOR EXCHANGE OF SPECIALIZED PUBLICATIONS AND MICROFILMS BETWEEN US AND SOVIET NATIONAL ARCHIVES;

H. EXPANSION OF MAJOR EXHIBITS EXCHANGE DURING AGREEMENT PERIOD; AND

I. WHERE WE HAVE MENTIONED SPECIFIC NUMBERS IN CONNECTION WITH LEVELS OF ACTIVITY FOR EXCHANGES, WE HAVE IN ALMOST ALL INSTANCES PREFACED THESE WITH PHRASE
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SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 091157

" AT LEAST " IN ORDER PROVIDE UPWARD FLEXIBILITY AND MAKE CLEAR THAT FIGURES IN AGREEMENT REPRESENT FLOORS AND NOT CEILINGS.

4. WE WILL GIVE YOU NECESSARY INSTRUCTIONS ON PRESENTATION OF OUR DRAFT WHEN TEXT IS CABLED. THIS CONNECTION, AS NEGOTIATIONS OF CURRENT AGREEMENT HELD IN MOSCOW IN MARCH- APRIL 1972, WE HAVE PROPOSED TO SOVIET EMBASSY THAT SOVIETS SEND NEGOTIATING TEAM HERE NO LATER THAN MAY 21.

5. IF WE MAKE CLEAR AT TIME OF SUBMISSION OF OUR DRAFT THAT THEIR GENERAL APPROACH IS UNACCEPTABLE, WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE THAT NEGOTIATION OF MAIN FEATURES OF OUR

DRAFT WILL CAUSE UNDUE DIFFICULTIES. AMONG OTHER FACTORS, EXTENSION OF EXCHANGES AGREEMENT TO THREE YEARS WILL ENABLE PLANNING TO GO FORWARD ON MINCULT FURTSEVA' S PROPOSAL TO BRING BOLSHOI OPERA AND BALLET TO US IN 1976.

6. REQUEST EMBASSY COMMENTS ASAP ON FOREGOING APPROACH AS WELL AS SPECIFICS CITED IN PARAGRAPH 3 ABOVE.

PORTER

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NMAFVVZCZ

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